241
575
244
562

Kwoma OJ13

[For information on the Kwoma Yam Cult, sometimes referred to as a male secret society, see category 794.]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumbima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[3] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[3] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions [554] are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes [562] women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. [786] It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

121 182 796 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer, or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
[123] the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[177] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
859 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj. After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[269] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[502]

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

000 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by
482 carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags
with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men
carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were
past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the
men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders.
We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know
whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They
always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering.
Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They
will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of
men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen
them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves,
but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or
five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of
biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel
confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their
violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from
the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did
very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi,
and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Her (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys)
had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words
she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[784] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof
exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry
at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in
the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex.
What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Hawk, who is
probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of
striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously
when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When
we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all
on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Hawk) what sugilewas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask
which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This
suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib:
pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These
are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

794 The word <u>suailawas</u> which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named <u>yenengara</u>, <u>minjema</u>, and <u>nohwisugwi</u> which are <u>suailawas</u> "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have ambleps, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in <u>yenengara</u> his first son will be <u>minjema</u>, his second <u>yenengara</u>, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. <u>Nohwisugwi</u> seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for <u>maris</u>, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
128 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Sum; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigmarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, May, Pit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Sum was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found [443] [685] his canoe has been smashed by Brugnumi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[560] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yensma or Minjsma, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayendi would reach from
464 Rumbina house temberan to Soubundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and [562] Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harapa ne mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbima were there. The 123 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of 726 excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Urambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mwapi at Sow's.

584 Gwiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like 754 Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to call her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- 583 the arrangement was that Mas would get Gwanta in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Daun and Afa would get Uka's.

Tobacco

276 993 Long, long ago, Sukugaratá shot Sokweygurá and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukugaratá made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (hin) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdengara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (niey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

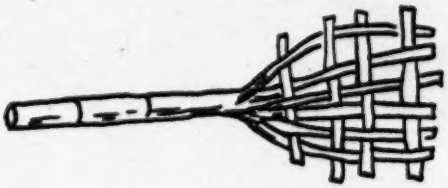
[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

276
562
183

While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

249
412
[192]

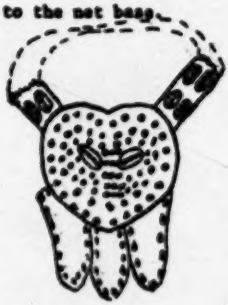
Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hind mafwtrewf)



Ornaments

301 286 237 192 [583] [439] [436] Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawfwé) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price). Shells , yesi (small cowrie shells) and asemangárá (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below , an ornament called nó nasíkí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (amángurí), shell ornaments (wanyivé) , yesi , asemangárá and lofu wafé (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mapo.

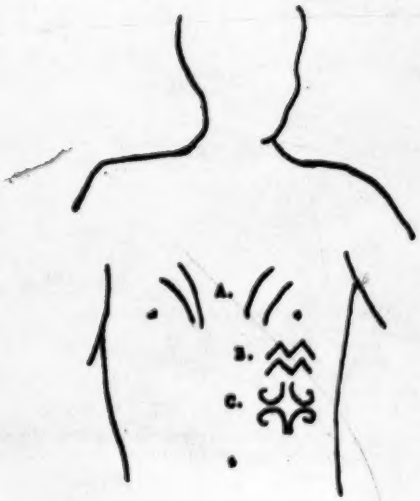
301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo dokw) is attached

Some examples of cicitrization around a woman's navel

304
562
531

Cicatrization symbolic of manhood

304
531
• 562
561



A. nákwe

B. wínáí

C. kwayí nbankí